1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

bags, recalling the typical checker and diagonal step design of Blackfoot beading. This type is, however, unusual among the Gros Ventre.

The fine bag shown in Fig. 6, collected by Dr. Clark Wissler, presents unusual quill-embroidery on its front, suggestive perhaps of Sioux influence or origin; but the bead-work on its cover and sides, and the attached tin and horsehair ornaments, are typically Arapaho, except for the fact that this tribe would be very unlikely to make any pattern without at least some proportion of white. The transverse lines of quill-work on this bag might be regarded as nothing but a further five-line development of the three-line grouping illustrated by the last figure, with an alternating bar-pattern for its chief ornamentation instead of the box figure, which in element is identical. The central figure, however, is the typical Sioux spider-web pattern described by Dr. Clark Wissler,[1] and so far without any parallel among either Arapaho or Gros Ventre, or any approach nearer than that shown in an instance of blanket painting.[2] The two parallel bars in the centre of this concave quadrilateral figure, and the diamond-shaped feather symbols at its corners, are also typically Siouan: only the last-named element is occasionally used by the Gros Ventre.

Buffalo paunches, the mouth being drawn up by a string, like a sack, were used for carrying and holding water, a paunchful being hung up in the tent. If buffalo had been killed, and it was desired to transport the meat across the Missouri, the paunches were filled with meat, blown up, tied together at the mouth, and floated. The well-known circular skin boats of the Missouri tribes were also used by the Gros Ventre for transporting clothing and property across streams.

Fig. 7 shows an ornamented food-bag of bladder. At the top is a strip of skin covered with red quill-embroidery, with square star designs in blue and white. From this strip of skin hangs a red quill-wound fringe. The thong handle of the bag is partly quilled, and has quilled thong pendants hanging from it. At the bottom of the bag a round piece of skin, covered with green-and-white quartered bead-work, is sewed on.

The navel-amulets of the Gros Ventre, which resemble those of the Arapaho in their use, are in form of a somewhat different type, as they approach more nearly to an animal's shape. They usually represent ç̣aniwaⁿ, the "horned toad" (southern Arapaho, sãniwaⁿ, a "lizard"), or sometimes a person. Their general shape is, as everywhere on the Plains, a rhomboid on end. To this the Gros Ventre add at the upper end a small rhomboid, forming the head of the animal represented. This augmented shape has not been found among the Arapaho, with whom the typical form

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 248.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XIII, p. 85, Fig. 138.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

is a narrow simple rhomboid.[1] The Blackfeet and Sioux make figures resembling those of the Gros Ventre, but carry the realism farther. The Sioux most frequently represent an entire animal with head, legs, and tail, much like Fig. 1 in Plate VIII of Vol. XVIII of the "Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History," but broader, in the shape of a turtle.[2] The Arapaho, Gros Ventre, and Blackfeet use ornamented strings hanging from the corners of the rhomboid to represent limbs and tail. The Blackfeet make realistic snake amulets for their boys, and more conventional turtle or lizard-like figures, resembling those of the Gros Ventre, for their girls. Among the Assiniboine, and west of the Rockies among the Bannock and Ute, a reduced form of navel-amulets occurs, though perhaps it is not the only one used. It is usually small and flat, with the acute angles of the rhomboid cut off transversely, rendering the whole piece hexagonal rather than quadrilateral. Sometimes the entire edges are fringed. The relative distribution of this small form and of the other forms is not yet clear. A Shoshone amulet in the Museum is a pointed rhomboid resembling the Arapaho type, even to being quartered in its bead-ornamentation. A Kiowa specimen in the Anthropological Museum of the University of California is a plain rhombus, of Arapaho type, except in being smaller and more nearly square. The following distribution of types is at least partly correct: realistic, Sioux, Blackfoot, occasionally Arapaho; semi-realistic, Blackfoot, Gros Ventre; conventional rhomboid, Arapaho, Kiowa, Shoshone; reduced hexagonal, Assiniboine, Ute, Bannock, and perhaps Shoshone.

Fig. 7 (50-1801). Ornamented medicine-bag of bladder. Length, 29 cm.

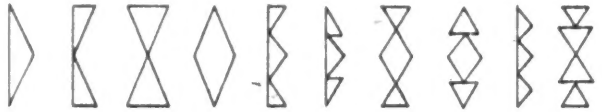
On Plate IX are shown three Gros Ventre navel-amulets. Fig. 3 was said to represent a horned toad, and Fig. 2, a person. It will be seen that the mouth in the former is near the end of the head; in the latter, in the lower part of the face. Both these specimens have quilled or beaded appendages at the two side corners and at the lower end. Fig. 1 has a distinct

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part I, Plate VIII.
[2] Ibid., Vol. XVIII, Part III, p. 242, Fig. 76.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

tail as well as head, a cross instead of an attempt at representative ornamentation in the bead-work on the head, and unornamented yellowed thongs as sole attachments. Another specimen (Museum No. 50–4278), not figured, is much smaller than any of the others. It resembles Fig. 3 of Plate IX in that the bead-work on its upper surface is quartered, and that there is a distinct attempt to represent eyes in the head. The attachments are short unpainted thongs with tin cones at their ends.

Of these four pieces, Fig. 1 of Plate IX and Museum No. 50–4278 are unbeaded on the lower side; Fig. 3 of Plate IX has a few curvilinear leaf-ornaments on the lower side; and Fig. 2 of Plate IX is entirely beaded on both sides, showing on the reverse a simple quartering in blue and yellow without attempted representation of animal form. It thus appears that all the pieces are ornamented with bead-work in quartering, a design found also among the Arapaho, although transverse or diagonal parallel lines, or a crossed longitudinal line, are more common among them. The specimen figured



a *b* *c* *d* *e* *f* *g* *h* *i* *j*

Fig. 8. Triangular Designs on Parfleches and Bags.

in Fig. 1 of Plate IX is quartered asymmetrically. The greater flatness of Fig. 3, same plate, is due to the contents of the amulet-pouch having been removed, no doubt for preservation.

The principal form of Gros Ventre decorative art other than embroidery is painting, mainly on skin and rawhide. As to the symbolism of this painting, as little was learned as of the symbolism of embroidered designs. The style of decoration itself, however, offers some points of interest when compared with the forms of decoration typical of other Plains tribes.

Outside of robe-painting, tent-painting, and semi-realistic painting of a more directly symbolic or religious nature, the principal form of this branch of Plains decorative art is the painting of parfleches and rawhide bags. In these the decorative field is invariably rectangular, usually nearly square. Within this rectangular field, which may be merely outlined or may be heavily bordered, three principal types of design elements and combinations of elements can be distinguished. These can be called respectively the "triangular," the "square-and-triangular," and the "square."

The triangular type of design is by far the most common, taking the Plains as a whole, and among some tribes is used almost exclusively. The

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

526 Fig. 25 shows one side of a small ball painted yellow, on which is a rude embroidery in red, yellow, and green quills, representing a bird. On the 533 opposite side is a red quilled cross. The bird-embroidery recalls the quill-ornamentation of an Arapaho ghost-dance drumstick and hand implement, both of them with stuffed heads of painted skin; also the painting of a crow on an Arapaho ghost-dance ball.[1]

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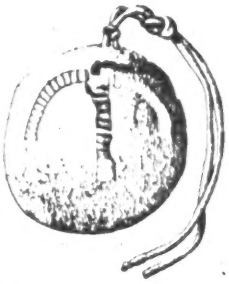

Fig. 25 (50-1731). Embroidered and Painted Ball. Diameter, 7 cm.

A game of throwing willow sticks on the ice, to see who could slide them farthest, was played by women. These sticks were sometimes tipped with buffalo-calves' horns. Young men, as well as women, sometimes threw horn-pointed sticks on the ice. It is said that women used long sticks, young men short sticks.

Children slid on the ice at a place they had made smooth. A boy and then a girl would slide alternately. When the whole party had slid one way, they would return, sliding in the opposite direction.

A toy made to slide on the ice consists of a bone to which two feathered sticks are attached at a diverging angle. It is called "tataxtsiteebya^{n}." The object is to bounce or slide the implement over the ice as far as possible. This type of object is found among a number of Plains tribes.

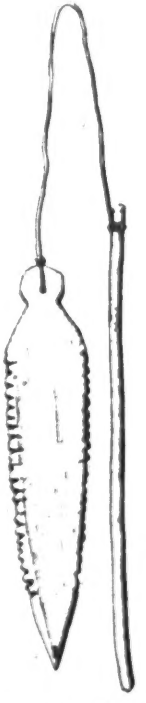

Fig. 26 (50-1788). Bull-roarer. Length, 56 cm.

493 Boys' sleds for coasting on hillsides were made of
526 several buffalo-ribs held together at each end by a long
857 thong winding in and out around the two halves of a split stick. A buffalo-tail was tied behind. These sleds were called "'sö^{n}w^{n}haana^{n}." When a man presented such a sled to another man's boy, he received presents from the boy's parents. In early summer, when the grass was green, toboggans of rawhide were used on the hillsides. The front was held up and bent over, and the bottom soon became very smooth.

227 Slings were used by boys for killing birds and small animals. The entire
411 sling was made of skin. The thongs were passed through holes near the
857

[1] See Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History, Vol. XVIII, Part IV, p. 395, Fig. 151.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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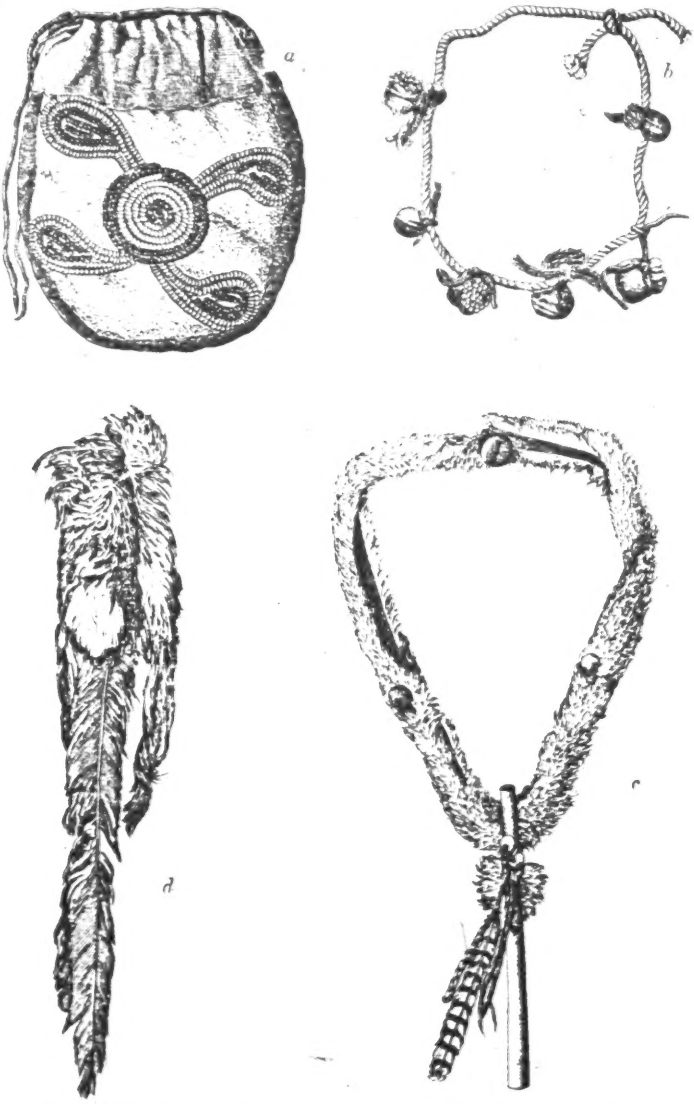

Fig. 28 (50–1952 b, c, d, e). War Paraphernalia. Lengths, 15 cm., 9 cm., 45 cm., 40 cm.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

used in this way. The owner twice dreamed of a weasel, which told him to use its skin. Thereupon he first wore a weasel-skin in dances, and later carried it to war. Subsequently he lent it to his son and to other men who went to war, and they always returned successfully.

A man to whom a fisher had appeared in a dream or vision used a fish-skin medicine-bag, and on going to war carried this with him.

A renowned warrior, dead for some time, received his personal medicine from the bears, and was forbidden to scalp, count coup on the enemy, or take away a gun. He could only kill. He once killed two Sioux with one shot, at a place which received its name from the event.

A simple riding-whip (specimen Museum No. 50-1821) has on its wooden handle four red marks, each of which is said to represent an enemy struck in the face with a whip in battle.

Representations, used in the modern "war-dance," of the weapons of Black-Wolf, a well-known Gros Ventre warrior, part of whose experiences in war are told below, consist of a shield and spear. The shield, which is made of painted white cloth, represents the shield carried by him on an occasion when he rushed to battle with no other weapon. The shield is decorated with a blue crescent along the lower edge, representing the sun, and bordered by a wavy red line denoting lightning. The wooden spear and spear-point represent a spear with which the owner stabbed a Piegan in battle. The spear-point is painted blue and red; the blue representing iron, the red blood. Red marks on the handle of the spear represent coups.

A pair of beaded and painted moccasins executed by a woman, but designed by an old man, symbolize his exploits in war. An outside rim of beading represents the enemy's camp-circle. In the middle of the camp-circle is beaded the figure of a tent belonging to a chief. To this tent was tied a horse, which the wearer of the moccasins cut loose. This feat is represented by an outline painting of a horse and halter. Three U-shaped figures, also painted, are horse-tracks, and represent the capture of horses. On the other moccasin there are again three such figures in a row, which here were said to indicate a charge on horseback on the camp; while two other such figures, facing each other, indicate a face-to-face fight.

Curtains hanging behind the bed in front of the tent-wall were sometimes painted to illustrate the owner's achievements in war.

WAR-EXPERIENCES OF INDIVIDUALS.

The following narratives give an entirely personal account of the war-experiences of three individuals, two of them men of about sixty years of

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

men are named, their female relatives return to their tents, and cook. When they have prepared food, they all together bring a large quantity of it to the lodge. The men selected carry weapons, and are dressed for war. They are usually mounted. Where they themselves or their horses were wounded, they paint themselves. If they have ridden over an enemy, a man is painted on the breast of the horse. When the food which has been brought by their female relatives has been eaten, these men, two at a time, go through numerous performances of their achievements in battle. This is done each day of the dance.

A group of men and women, called, like those in the preliminary singing-tent, "prairie-chickens," and therefore probably the same persons, seem to be the singers for the dance. They beat a rawhide in place of a drum, and hold branches, which, at the end of each song, they shake, shouting.

The dancers may not drink water, no matter how great the heat. If one of them is unable to endure, and a pitying relative gives him even only a drop, a thunderstorm follows, and the offender may be struck by lightning, or one of his horses may be killed by lightning. In case it seems necessary for the dancers to drink, a pipe is taken to one of the old men. If he accepts it and smokes it, he goes to the central tree. He wears a robe with the hair-side out. He has a whistle in his mouth, feathers in one hand, and a crow-skin in the other. He strikes the bill of the crow four times, with a downward motion, against the lightning symbol on the tree. A vessel is held against the tree at the bottom of the symbol, and, after the fourth blow, water is said to run out until the vessel is filled, when it stops. This water is given to the dancers, each of whom drinks a very small quantity. The actions of the man producing this water are said to be determined by his personal supernatural vision.

After the four days of the ceremony are completed, the lodge is left standing. All the cloth and clothing that have been attached to it remain in place, and it appears that other clothes, especially of children, are left at the lodge. This is done in order that the children may live a long life.

From drawings made by a Gros Ventre, it appears that the buffalo-skull is painted with spots, and has its nose and eyes stuffed. Behind it is represented a dancer holding the wheel. He is presumably the pledger of the ceremony. The wheel is bisected by two strings, and has eagle-feathers and down-feathers attached to it. The dancer blows a whistle at the end of which is a plume. The whistle hangs from his neck. At the back of the head is a plume. Lines of paint proceed from his breast to his wrists and ankles. On each of these are four diamonds, two on each upper and lower arm, thigh, and calf. If this is a correct representation, the Gros Ventre use at least one style of painting that is like the most typical Arap-

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

aho sun-dance paint. Usually the Arapaho paint only two diamonds on each limb; but four have been seen on the northern Arapaho pledger, as in this picture. Another drawing repeats this painting, and adds a headband, anklets, and wristlets apparently corresponding to the sage ornaments of the Arapaho. In a third drawing a dancer is painted with lightning symbols down his legs and arms. 796 532

The Gros Ventre and Arapaho sun-dances differ about as much as their respective age-company ceremonies. The principal discrepancies seem to be the following. 796 171

The Gros Ventre accumulation of buffalo-tongues by the pledger after the making of the vow and before the ceremony. This feature is found among the Blackfoot, but not among the Arapaho.

The prairie-chicken lodge with its four-nights' singing apparently corresponds somewhat to the Arapaho rabbit-tent; but its daily removal, accompanied by the camp-circle, is not found among the Arapaho. The prairie-chicken singing recalls a feature in the Arapaho hinanaha^{n}wu, the fifth of the age-ceremonies.

According to the account obtained, the public ceremonies relating to the erection of the lodge do not take place until after the four-nights' singing in the prairie-chicken tent. Among the Arapaho, they occur while the rabbit-tent is in use, and are in large part connected with the rites within it. It is also not clear how long a time these public ceremonies — the scouting for the trees, the bringing-in of the centre pole, the killing of the buffalo, and the painting of the lodge-poles and erection of the lodge — occupy. They are described as if they occurred in the space of a day. This would not be impossible; but it is likely that this impression is due to indefiniteness of narration. It is, however, distinctly stated that the buffalo is shot while the people are bringing in the centre pole. Among the Arapaho, the centre pole is brought in two days after the buffalo has been shot. The skin of this buffalo is kept entire and taken into the dancing-lodge; by the Gros Ventre it is cut into thongs for fastening the lodge-beams to the upright forks. [114]

The "altars" of the two ceremonies cannot be definitely compared, owing to the indefiniteness of information from the Gros Ventre. The screen corresponds to the seven small trees of the Arapaho; the skull and the wheel on the stick are common to the two ceremonies; the red and the black upright stick have no Arapaho equivalents. The Arapaho trench, red and black logs, seven red and seven black sticks, seven wickets, and two sods with bushes, have not been mentioned among the Gros Ventre.

The miraculous raising of the centre pole does not seem to exist among the Arapaho.

1: Kroeber E-5 (1901) 1908
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

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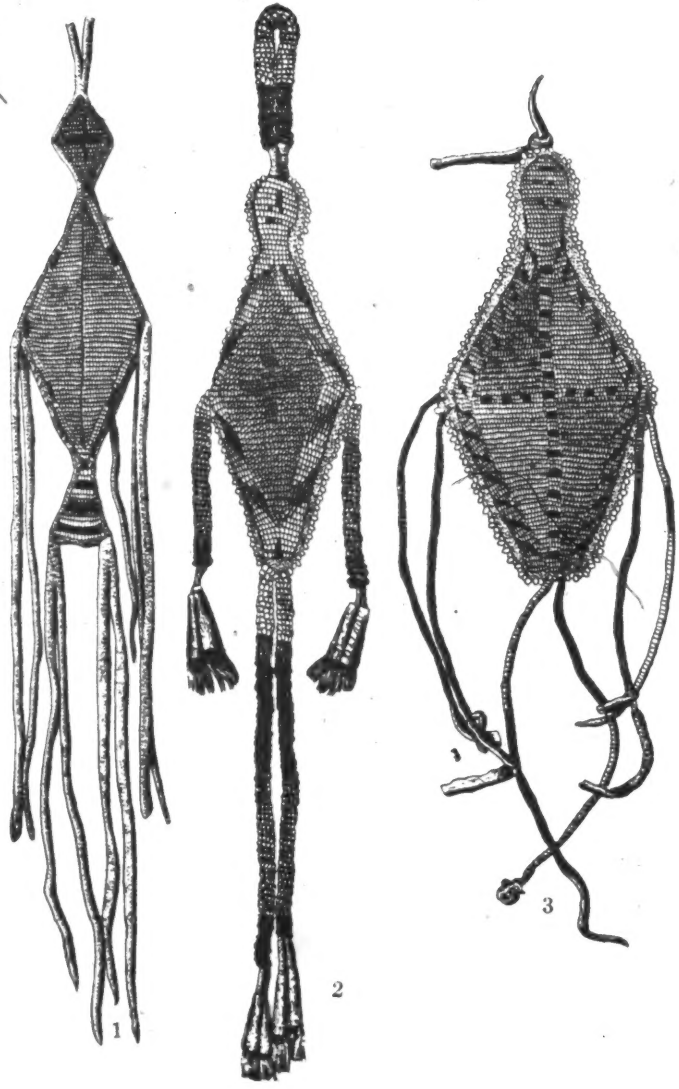

Navel-Amulets.

[End plate 2]

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

555 342 532 The more war-deeds a man performed, the more frequently was he the center of attention. Gradually he began to rise above others and finally he achieved recognition as an outstanding warrior. Only when a man reached this enviable height was he justified in having his war record painted on his lodge for all the world to admire. When a newly painted lodge of this kind was first erected, the owner initiated its use by giving a feast to which other prominent warriors were invited. From among the guests, the host "pulled up" one who was able to tell four brave exploits, each connected in some way with a different lodge belonging to the enemy. At the conclusion of each separate account, the warrior who was reciting hit the taut new lodge a resounding blow, thus attracting attention. Then while the guests were feasting and smoking with the host, crowds gathered around to examine the lodge and to discuss the record depicted thereon. It was said, too, that similar discussions took place when the Gros Ventres met on friendly terms with other tribes. The reputation of the owner was thereby enhanced as his prowess was ever more widely acknowledged.

Enemy-Friends

572 In accordance with the general prestige pattern, an outstanding warrior, or one who had aspirations toward that end, was expected to be generous as well as brave. Particular significance attached, however, to the disposition of horses stolen from the enemy or of weapons or other trophies obtained from the enemy at risk of life. [602] The giving of such presents initiated a particular relationship between recipient and donor known as the enemy-friendship. This was a kind of "joking relationship" and involved the greatest amount of freedom between the two both in word and action. Whatever one enemy-friend said or did to the other had to be borne with equanimity. Loss of temper involved loss of prestige, and it was said that in some cases one enemy-friend had to suffer patiently audacity which would have led him to murder another not in that relationship. Each tried to out-do the other by kinds of speech and action ranging all the way from the most harmless teasing and jokes to the most humiliating exposition of foibles and misdemeanors.

2: Flannery E-5 (1940-1948) 1953
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

"They usually cut the cord long, say four to six inches, because they were afraid the infant would bleed to death if they cut it short. You kind of drain it and get it cleaned out and tie it once. Apply a powdered root and then put a band around the body. It usually takes four days before it drops off." Since the cord is part of the body and they wanted to keep it close to its owner, when the cord came off, they placed it in a small fancy bag filled with sweetgrass or tobacco and pinned the bag to the clothing right at the back of the neck. Singer said that she had heard that boys used to wear this little bag tied to the wrist rather than at the back of the neck as girls did. Good care was taken of the bag until adulthood. The bag was usually in the shape of a turtle, with a little head. Although Coming Daylight had made two such bags, she didn't know why they used this shape except that it had been done thus for generations.[6] Mary's grandmother, however, made a little container for Mary's own son and it was in the shape of a snake with a head. Mary added: "And the Gros Ventres don't like snakes either. But my grandmother made that one in the shape of a snake on account of a dream she had."

The afterbirth was disposed of just as soon as possible, preferably by having someone place it good and high in the branches of a tree.[6] The person who disposed of the afterbirth was not supposed to let anyone see him do so, although the informants did not know the reason for the secrecy. It is more customary at present to burn the afterbirth as the whites do, but Coming Daylight remarked that she had done that only once,—on the occasion when she was caught out in the open all alone and had to deliver herself.

A mother rested quite a while after her child was born because it was said that working would make her sweat and that would hurt her milk. The child of a woman who worked a great deal immediately after its birth would not grow up to be so healthy as the child of one who took it easy. In the opinion of Coming Daylight and of Singer a woman should sit up only after four days and get up and be walking around in about ten days. Coming Daylight her-

[6] For discussion of these navel amulets and illustrations thereof, see Kroeber, 1908, pp. 166–67, and plate IX.

[6] "If it were left lying to be handled, the child would be afflicted with sores." Kroeber, 1908, p. 181.

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

778 base, and 2½ inches in depth from top to bottom. The stem is
276 roundish in section, about 1½ inches in diameter at the distal end, tapering slightly to about 1⅛ toward the proximal. The stem is "humped a bit toward the middle," with a ring carved all round to which is attached a small tasseled string ornament believed to represent the hair rope with which He-who-starved-to-death snared the Red Bird. (For story see No. 5 in Appendix.) The
[283] Gros Ventre women used to make an adornment from "a growth looking like hair" which they gathered from the water and twisted into a strong thread, and The Boy thinks that this tasseled ornament on the Pipe is of the same material.

There is another ring carved around and the proximal end of the Pipe is carved in the shape of a "duck" head. Into the "duck's" bill is fitted a small stem,—about 1⅛ inches long and ¼ inch in diameter, projecting about ½ inch beyond the tip of the bill, encased in copper,—from which the Pipe was smoked.*

● [532]

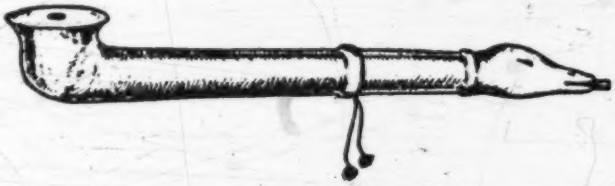

FIGURE 1. THE FLAT PIPE.

The whole Pipe is enclosed in its own numerous wrappings which form a separate case with its own three thong ties within the larger Pipe bundle. No one, it may be added, seems to know how the Flat Pipe got its name; there is nothing markedly "flat" about it, except the somewhat squat bowl.

778 The whole Pipe bundle contains many other sacred objects

* Kroeber, 1908, p. 272, gives a description of the Flat Pipe as being made of catlinite with the bowl in the shape of a person. Actually this sounds more like one of the objects in the Feathered Pipe bundle,—the so-called Image or Human Face. See p. 142. Kroeber's mention of a string around the center of the stem of the Flat Pipe, however, matches the description given us. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

was a wooden staff about three or four feet long, to which were attached feathers from "all kinds of birds," including the eagle, the feathers literally covering the staff. The staff itself was given the first keeper in the beginning from above, but tradition is not consistent as to whether it was already feathered or was later feathered by this keeper. At any rate the feathers still on the staff are believed to be the original ones, are not broken off and are perfectly preserved. According to one report the staff has porcupine quill work on it; according to another, it is undecorated. The first keeper wrapped the stick in smoked skin, for which a wrapping of black and white cotton flannel was later substituted.

The image, called inite:atĕ (it is a person) translated "human face," was described to us as about eight inches long, of stone, "with a trace of faded red in it" and looking like the "brown pottery of a teapot," of human shape, male according to one informant, female according to another. It was wrapped in buffalo hair and until Curly Head's keepership was rarely unwrapped, and even when unwrapped only the face was supposed to be exposed, by raising a bit of the cover, although Curly Head exposed the whole figure.[6] Formerly, according to Garter Snake, nobody was allowed to look at the face, except the keeper and even he could do so only now and then. Garter Snake, although Pipe child for six or seven years while her father Bull Lodge was keeper, had never seen it. Sitting High, who succeeded Bull Lodge, showed the face of the image very rarely, only once or twice so far as Al Chandler, his grandson, had heard, and even old-timers wondered what it looked like. Sitting High would take the wrapped image out of the large bundle and let you hold it and pray to it, and this oftener than he would the Pipe, but without un-

[6] Although this has not been confirmed, it is highly possible that the pipe shown at the 1951 unwrapping and pictured in Plate 3 C-D may actually be this "human face" or image. The stone and color of the pipe meet the specifications (cf. Dr. Hegener's comment as given in footnote 5), the platform of the pipe is of about the right dimension, and one end thereof is carved in the form of a human face as can be seen in Dr. Nitz' photographs. Dr. Hagener noted on the back of the photograph in Plate 3 C that Iron Man allowed the picture to be taken only after long consultation with others and much hesitation. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

covering it. When they talked to the image, they prayed for whatever they wanted, but did not mention Bha'a. Whom the image represented is not known: probably Bha'a, but this is uncertain. 778

In recent times, the last real keeper, Curly Head, had danced with the image, contrary to all the ritual rules. Curly Head is consistently reported by informants to have been very careless as well as poorly informed about the ritual and other observances connected with the Feathered Pipe keepership.

The face when exposed was apt to look different to different people on any one occasion as well as to the same person on different occasions. To one man the face seemed not to want to look at him; it "kind of turned away and sweated." To another observer, a woman, it appeared as "a rock that had two shining eyes." Al Chandler had seen the face three times. On each occasion it had a different expression: on the first it looked as if it were "smiling, sort of bashful;" on the second, "kind of sad;" on the third, "sad." On the one occasion on which his wife, Cora Chandler, had seen the face, it "seemed like it was looking away, and wouldn't look at her." 778 532

According to Al Chandler, if the face smiled, this was an omen that "everything was going to be good;" if it "looked in the opposite direction, something not good" would happen. According to Garter Snake, if when the keeper saw the face, it had paint on it, there would be plenty of food, no sickness, and so forth; if it had no paint on it, there would be sickness or other misfortune. 778 787

The whistle, of wood ("of an unknown kind of wood," according to Garter Snake), was given the first keeper from above. It was kept without wrapping in the Pipe bundle. 778 [534]

The owl in the bundle was the skin of a big owl, painted up, with few of the feathers still attached. The body was wrapped leaving the head and neck sticking out. This owl skin was apparently of modern introduction. According to Al Chandler, when a new keeper took over the Pipe, he could add to the bundle whatever he was told "by a voice" to add; Sitting High said he was told by God Himself to put that owl in the bundle. Sitting High used to talk a great deal to the owl. The owl's duty, accord-

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

788 exceptionally chewed in contrast to the Flat Pipe peppermint. A
824 bag, painted red all over, about a foot square, and fringed on three sides but with no beading or other decoration, now hangs with the
[415] bundle and served, Al Chandler thought, as a container for the dried sweet pine needles.

802 The ritual number of the Feathered Pipe, running all through the songs and ceremonies, was four, from the days of the first keeper down to most recent times.

534 The musical instrument used to accompany the songs was, likewise from the time of the first keeper, the drum. According to
778 Garter Snake, the first keeper's drum was painted half black to represent black [storm] clouds and half red to represent the earth. According to Al Chandler, the present drum, about 16 inches in diameter and two inches deep, has a figure of a thunderbird
● [532] painted in blue on the drumhead against a red background, to represent Bha'a, with zigzag yellow lines from either side of the head to the wings, to represent lightning. A long string is tied to the drum. The drumstick is painted red, the distal end being covered with buckskin "stuffed with something like cotton." Curly Head, when keeper, never used the drum, or even took it out of its covering in which it hung next to the bundle, but Sitting High used it regularly with the songs.*

788 According to Garter Snake, the first keeper had somebody make
778 him a wooden bowl, which still hangs with, not in, the Pipe bundle, but we obtained no information on its type or use. She also stated that the first keeper had a "gourd rattle" or four rattles, but Al Chandler never saw any rattle kept or used with the Feathered Pipe, and no other informant mentioned such.

[782] The Feathered Pipe, like the Flat Pipe, was smoked, in fulfillment of vows, but very rarely. More commonly, in contrast with the Flat Pipe, it was danced with, earlier only by the keeper, in recent decades by others.

788 General ritual features common to the Feathered Pipe and Flat Pipe,—clockwise movement, singing, the use of paint, of buffalo chips, and of sage, tobacco, larb and wild parsley,—have

* The drum used in the 1951 rite was apparently undecorated. See Plate 2 C. [R.F.]

3: Cooper E-5 (1938-1940) 1957
NQ13 Gros Ventre NQ13

The rite of self-torture, carried out on the day after the third (or second)[12] night of singing was the dramatic climax of the Sacrifice Dance. Either during the three-day singing and dancing or, more probably, on the morning of the day of torture occurred the painting and decorating of the dancers, those who had vowed to undergo self-torture.[13] By their respective grandfathers or others substituting as sort of "secondary grandfathers," each dancer was first painted over his entire body with white clay. On his upper chest, near the neck, was painted in black with charcoal or paint the figure of a bird (evidently representing Bha'a, the Thunder Bird), and a black zigzag line ending in a fork from each of the bird's wings across the chest and down either arm of the dancer to the forearm, and a similar black zigzag fork-ended line from each of the bird's feet down either leg and thigh to the ankle. Another black zigzag line, forked at both ends, was painted across the dancer's forehead, and under each eye, a vertical zigzag line, ending at the bottom in a fork, but painted in red, not in black. Sprigs of sage-brush were put on as wristlets and anklets, and around the head "so that they met over the eyes." "Common dancers" and other active participants such as the ceremonial grandfathers were painted all over with red paint instead of white clay, and were apparently decorated with over-painted designs similar to those of the self-torturers, the "dancers" proper.

The self-torture rite, on the last day of the Sacrifice Dance, began with the skin-piercing, the insertion of the skewers, and the attachment of the thongs and shield. The skin-piercing was done by the respective grandfathers to whom the respective vowers, their grandchildren, gave generous presents of horses, robes and

[12] Our informants agreed that the Sacrifice Dance lasted through four nights, but whether the night of singing just before the "scouting" for the center pole counted as one of these four or not, and hence whether the skin piercing took place on the second or third day after the "scouting" was not made fully clear to us,—more probably the third day.

[13] In 1948 The Boy stated that the dancers were painted with white clay and their faces painted differently each morning. "On the first day each dancer has a red dot on each cheek, the second day two dots, the third day, three,—these are their tears and indicated that the dancers are crying." [R.F.]